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22 November 1977

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1477

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## ALBANIA

### PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY PRAISES AWP, REJECTS THREE WORLDS THEORY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Oct 77 p4

[ATA Item: "The 7th AWP Congress--An Historic Event with International Significance--Writes the Newspaper BANDERA ROJA, Central Organ of the Peruvian Communist Party"]

[Text] In one of its recent issues, the newspaper BANDERA ROJA, the central organ of the Peruvian Communist Party, wrote that the 7th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party (AWP) was a historic event of international significance. The Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party has analyzed the valuable conclusions which this congress had reached.

The 7th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, the paper stresses, was held in the presence of a number of delegations from sister communist parties which are holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Some new proletarian parties also took part. On the invitation of the AWP Central Committee, the Peruvian Communist Party had the great honor of participating with a delegation in this congress. This invitation brilliantly shows the high internationalist spirit of the AWP, which furnished an opportunity for the strengthening of the revolutionary friendship between Marxist-Leninist parties of all continents.

The 7th AWP Congress demonstrated before the whole world the vitality and dynamic nature of socialist society in Albania and its strong and healthy internal situation. Under the leadership of the AWP, which is led with wisdom by Comrade Enver Hoxha, Albania is successfully proceeding with the construction of socialism in all aspects of social life while waging intense class warfare on both the internal and external fronts.

On the internal level, with its revolutionary vigilance and the dictatorship of the proletariat it has crushed the counterrevolutionary plot linked with modern revisionism whose goal was to restore capitalism. On the external level it is waging an unceasing struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and all reactionaries of the world. On the other hand, it has won great political prestige in the international arena by breaking the imperialist and social imperialist blockade. Today Albania is

not an isolated socialist country, as is claimed. It is a shining beacon which attracts the attention of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and which has won the respect, love, and solidarity of all the exploited of the world.

The 7th AWP Congress, the newspaper continues, likewise reflected the great progress in all fields of the heroic working people of this fraternal country in socialist construction by relying mainly on their own forces and by being led by Marxism-Leninism.

Approval of the new constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is likewise a historic event of great international significance since it is the embodiment of historic experience in the building of socialism under the conditions of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement. At the same time it is the result of the correct leadership of the AWP and of the creative spirit of the broad popular masses. It is important that the constitution stresses the class nature of the socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the party, while it calls the class struggle a moving force.

Another aspect which must be emphasized, the magazine points out, is that the 7th Congress once again expressed the growth of the leading role of the AWP, its steel-like ideological and organizational unity which has permitted it to struggle successfully against liberalism and bureaucratism, as well as against enemies which have infiltrated into its ranks. The party is the leader of socialist society on all levels. As the leader, the party is one and inseparable, closely linked to the masses. In his report before the 7th AWP Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The party convinces the masses above all by not separating the word from the deed, it convinces them by the example set by the communists and their stance in the foremost ranks in the struggle and in work."

The 7th AWP Congress likewise made a correct evaluation of the international situation and, as emphasized in Comrade Enver Hoxha's report, in this aspect Albania "has always upheld correct and principled standpoints, in complete accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, with our national interests, with the interests of the revolution and the liberation of peoples." The Congress strongly emphasized the nature of the current economic, political, ideological and military crisis, the structural and cultural crisis which the bourgeoisie-imperialist-revisionist system is now going through and that the world is currently experiencing "the irritation of all the intra-imperialist contradictions and the rivalry of the superpowers to divide up markets and spheres of influence."

At the same time, the congress set correct strategy and tactics in view of the complicated situation in the world, which is threatened by Yankee imperialism and Soviet social imperialism with a new world war and the enslavement of the peoples. The two imperialisms, together and separately, are the main enemy of the peoples of the world.

In the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 7th AWP Congress warned of the danger of new variations of opportunism in the struggle against imperialism and social imperialism by rejecting any illusion that it is possible to fight one imperialism by relying on another imperialism. Referring to such expressions as "Second World", "Third World", "nonaligned countries" or "developing countries" and so on, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "All these terms, which refer to various political forces active in our world today, disguise and do not point out the class nature of these political forces, the basic contradictions of our era, and the key problem which dominates today on a national and international level: the merciless war which is being waged between the bourgeois imperialist world on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat and its natural allies on the other hand." He added later that such terms "hide the actual situation of the majority of these countries which in one way or another are politically, ideologically, and economically involved and dependent upon both the superpowers and also former colonial mother countries."

The 7th Congress made a correct analysis of revisionism and all its trends. At the same time, by combining the experience of the international communist movement and socialist construction, it reached some important generalizations on the rapid development of the struggles for national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

The AWP, whose great proletarian internationalist spirit was expressed in its 7th Congress, BANDERA ROJA stresses, maintains a correct standpoint toward Marxist-Leninist parties and liberation movements by respecting the independence and autonomy of the sister parties and fraternal peoples, by reviving in this area the spirit of the Communist International at the times of Lenin and Stalin and by not engaging in any form of division or creating and spreading pseudo-"Marxist-Leninist" parties.

The Peruvian Communist Party, the article concludes, has the firm conviction that both the party and the heroic Albanian people, with the great Marxist-Leninist Enver Hoxha leading them, will continue to make great contributions to the cause of socialism and communism, the cause of national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world.

CSO: 2100



BULGARIA

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN DEBATE ON FOOD PROBLEMS

Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 12 Nov 77 LD

[Text] United Nations, 12 Nov (BTA correspondent)--In connection with the discussion in the Second UN Committee on the issue of "food problems" in the world which is included as a separate item in the agenda of the 32d UN General Assembly session, the Bulgarian delegation to the session circulated in the world organization the text of the speech made by the first secretary of the CC of the BCP and State Council President, Mr Todor Zhivkov, at the International Conference of Peasant and Kindred Democratic Parties, held in Sofia last December.

Pointing out that this speech fully reflects the constructive policy of Bulgaria in the range of questions discussed, the Bulgarian representative to the session, Mr Khristo Kosev, in his statement before the Second UN Committee pointed out that the grave problems of hunger and malnutrition in the developing countries has been "left as heritage by the prolonged colonial and neocolonial domination and exploitation."

Noting that Bulgaria approaches with understanding the problems of the developing countries in the field of food, he laid stress on his country's experience in the reorganization of agriculture on socialist foundations, accompanied by a steep rise of the material prosperity of the whole nation and also dealt in detail with the useful assistance rendered by Bulgaria to the developing countries in the sphere of agriculture.

"The Bulgarian delegation," he stressed, "welcomes the measures that are being taken by a number of developing countries for doing away with hunger and malnutrition by efforts to overcome the use of monoculture in farming, for carrying through radical agrarian reforms and for placing [words indistinct] and in the hands of the people who cultivate it."

[Word indistinct] The debate in the Second Committee, the recommendations worked out on the question will be submitted for approval to the UN General Assembly as well.

CSO: 2020

## BULGARIA

### BTA REPORTS ON EARTHQUAKE IN RHODOPE MOUNTAINS

Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 10 Nov 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, 10 Nov (BTA)--In connection with the earthquake in the area of the town of Velingrad (in the Rhodope Mountains), the BTA has been authorized to report the following:

From 0423 hours on 3 November to 0800 hours on 8 November of this year a series of more than 100 tremors of different intensity occurred in the area of Velingrad and 36 of them were felt by the population.

The first tremor was the strongest--at 0423 hours on 8 November. With destructive effect were also the tremors at 0149 hours on 5 November and at 0448 hours on 6 November.

As a result of the tremors the national economy and the population suffered considerable material damage. Twenty-four towns and villages in the southern part of the county of Pazardjik were affected. Velingrad, Kostandovo, Dorkovo, Rakitovo, Septemvri, Varvara, Patalenitsa and Semchinovo were the most seriously hit.

There were no killed or injured among the population.

Some 7,916 buildings, including 7,828 dwellings, were damaged to various degrees. Some 375 houses were made uninhabitable, and another 280 have been declared dangerous to live in.

Partial damages were inflicted on six industrial enterprises. The highway in the area of railway station Tsepina and traffic on the Varvara-Okagrad railway line were temporarily interrupted owing to landslides. Three long-distance power transmission lines were out of action for a few hours.

The Council of Ministers has promptly taken the necessary steps for giving assistance to the population affected and for restoring the damage. A government commissioner was set up for this purpose.

The government commission, and the local party and state organs immediately took all the urgent measures for accommodating the population affected in

hotels, holiday homes, tents and private houses and for doing away with the consequences of the earthquake. The necessary amounts of cement, bricks, roof tiles, window panes, timber, etc., were sent forthwith to the stricken areas. The families hit by the earthquake will receive compensation in accordance with the enactments of the government issued in connection with the earthquake that took place in the area of the town of Svishtov.

As a result of the energetic measures taken, intensive work has started on removing the damage. The steady work of the industrial enterprises has been resumed. The damage caused to the power grid, to the road and railway networks has been removed and electricity has been ensured to all the consumers. Life is back to normal in Velingrad and the other stricken places.

The good organization and discipline with which the working people met the disaster and their activity to overcome the damage are worth mentioning, as are the competence and efficiency of the local party and state leaderships in organizing and carrying out restoration work.

CSO: 2020

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

GREETINGS TO BRITISH CP--Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)--The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has sent a greetings telegram to the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain. "The Bulgarian Communists have always been in solidarity with the struggle of the Communist Party of Great Britain in defense of the interests of the working people, for deep structural changes of society, for rallying all the democratic and progressive forces against the onslaught of the monopolies, for peace, democracy and social progress in the world." The telegram notes "our striving has always been for relations between our parties to expand and deepen, to be permeated by a spirit of mutual trust and concern for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," it is further emphasized. The telegram conveys wishes for successful and useful work of the congress and confidence that its decisions will contribute to the attainment of new successes also in the common struggle for the triumph of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 12 Nov 77 AU]

GREETINGS TO IRISH PARTY CHIEF--Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)--The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has sent the following cable to the secretary general of the Irish Communist Party, Mr Michael O'Riordan: "Dear Comrade O'Riordan, will you please accept our warmest greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party Aszvncv, the Communists in George Dimitrov's country on the occasion of your 60th birthday. "In you we greet the loyal son of the Irish working class, the manly anti-fascist, prominent figure of the international communist and workers' movement and consistent Marxist-Leninist who has devoted all his strength to the struggle for the triumph of the communist ideas. "We wish you, dear Comrade O'Riordan, good health, personal happiness and new successes in your work for the defence of the interests of the Irish working class, for expanding cooperation between our two parties and for the consolidation of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 12 Nov 77 AU]

MURDERER OF STUDENTS EXECUTED--An announcement by the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: In connection with criminal public case no: 1652/1977, the Sofia City Court has sentenced to death Georgi Ivanov Balchev of Nova Kamena village, Tolbukhin Okrug, for being guilty of murdering with premeditation and in a particularly cruel manner two students in the student hostels on 27 May 1977. The Supreme Court has confirmed this sentence and it has been carried out. [Text] [Sofia BTA Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1650 GMT 15 Nov 77 AU]

ZHIVKOV VISA PLAN--Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's "numero uno," has told Francois Mitterrand [leader of the PSF] that he is ready to sign an agreement, with any country desiring to do so, that would permit free circulation and do away with the need for visas. [Text] [Paris PARIS MATCH in French 11 Nov 77 p 75]

CSO: 2200

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MLYNAR: NO FORESEEABLE CHANGE IN USSR, CSSR LEADERSHIP

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Sep 77 p 4

[Article by Viktor Meier: "No Changes Expected in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] The opinions regarding the ninth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of the CSSR show that the world public is increasingly concerned with this theme. The Soviet invasion is by no means felt to be only a moral problem, but a political matter of topical importance. The reasons for this are probably three-fold: First, the internal political situation in the CSSR itself is unresolved, as Charter 77 showed. Second, in light of the principles adopted in the meantime at Helsinki and at the meeting of European communists, the Soviet action emerges even more clearly as an atrocity in international law, as well as a violation of all rules for communist party relations. Third, with the passage of time, the damage which the Soviet action has done to Moscow's policy in the third world is becoming more and more clear.

After the invasion of Hungary in 1956, Moscow's ideological authority was broken. At the time, Togliatti first posed the question whether Stalinism has really been sufficiently explained as a "cult of personality." The march on Prague hemmed Moscow in politically; apart from isolated cases, it has, since then, obviously been more and more difficult for the Soviets to exert politically effective influence beyond the limits of their purely military power. Their inability to establish--in Sonnenfeldt's ominous phrase --"organic relations" anywhere in the world was drastically demonstrated.

In the opinion of Zdenek Mlynar--as secretary of the Central Committee, one of the decisive participants in the "Prague Spring," and recently, as a decisive exponent of Charter 77, forced into exile in Vienna--the current inner constellation in the CSSR and particularly the composition of the current Prague Government offer scant prospects for change. The impetus for that would probably have to come from the Soviet Union, and there, too, Mlynar currently sees no forces at work which could effect any changes of the course in the foreseeable future. The Soviets, at least the currently decisive

people, are, he says, prisoners both of their previous action and of the internal political situation which they themselves brought about after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Mlynar reports that during the talks in Moscow in August 1968, in which he participated along with the forceably abducted party secretary Dubcek, and other leaders of the reform movement, party chief Brezhnev expressly demanded as a condition sine qua non for an arrangement with Dubcek that Vasil Bilak, known to be a Stalinist, remain a member of the party presidium, although a few hours earlier Kosygin had told Mlynar that the Soviet Union, too, would "of course" no longer rely on "such people" as Bilak in Czechoslovakia. The Soviets primary concern now was to do away with any movement, even at the price of any detriment to their image.

Mlynar regards the current power situation in the Soviet Union as unclear. Of that generation of 60-year-olds who could come to power after Brezhnev, he believes that a majority hold almost more rigid and dogmatic views than the present administration. As a typical example of this coming "set" Mlynar cites Zimyanin, Central Committee secretary and former editor-in-chief of PRAVDA, the epitome, so to speak, of the last reserve of the Stalinist generation of functionaries. Mlynar puts Ponomarev, now responsible for international party relations, and particularly for the non-governing parties, in the same class. On the other hand, Katushev, the former Central Committee secretary for relations with the governing parties, and meanwhile transferred to the government, has at times demonstrated realistic views. That may have been one of the reasons why he had to withdraw. In Mlynar's view, it is already "easier to talk" with the generation of Soviet leaders who today are between 40 and 50 years old. The former trade union chairman Shelepin, meanwhile discharged by Brezhnev, also demonstrated relatively open-minded views in part before 1968.

Mlynar sees it as an essential element of the present political situation within the CSSR that the party now constitutes a strictly self-contained organism and apparatus, which lacks all contact with the rest of the population and which can no longer reflect wishes and tendencies within the population. This, believes Mlynar, is something completely new for the communist party of the country as a party of the masses, an emphatic deformation which was not so pronounced even in the years of Stalinism. Any newcomers to the power apparatus enter it out of pure opportunism. This is especially true of the young functionaries, who waste no time at all on any Marxist considerations, but are purely cynical in their thinking. All departments of the apparatus are strictly supervised by the Soviets, who occasionally play one person off against another in the process. The supervision is strongest in the security apparatus, which in turn has its people in all institutions, but there the KGB line holds sway, and it is not always the same as that of other segments of the Soviet power spectrum. The attempt to justify the Stalinist show trials of the 1950's was undertaken by people from the security apparatus on the radio. Mlynar believes that if this attempt, or at least the conviction of Ota Sling, presented as legitimate had succeeded, one against the state and party chief Husak could also automatically have been justified.

Husak, believes Mlynar, has no power in his own party apparatus; he was elected party secretary in 1969 under other presuppositions, but was unable to play the role intended for him. He remains at the top only because a change would be much too risky for the Soviets. To expect any independent political initiatives from the power cynic Husak would be absurd. This applies also to questions of the CSSR foreign policy. Precisely in this connection remarkable illusions prevailed sometimes, if no longer today, even among Western diplomats in Prague. Moreover, Husak personally holds rather dogmatic views. As for his character, it is a fact that Husak has repeatedly left his own supporters in the lurch as soon as he no longer needed them. "Be glad if you never have to get to know Husak," said former president Novotny, before his replacement, to the commission supposed to manage the complete rehabilitation of Husak.

Of the other top functionaries in Prague, Bilak and trade union chief Hofmann are, in Mlynar's opinion, blind tools of their Soviet superiors. Bilak was at first close to Ukrainian party secretary Shelest, since dismissed; after that he was associated with the international and ideological apparatus in Moscow headed by Suslov and Ponomarev, likewise ultraconservative. Bilak scarcely ever expresses his own thoughts. One can see from his statements what decisive circles in Moscow really think about "Eurocommunists" and detente.

Mlynar wants to write a book in Vienna describing his experiences in party work and during the time of being in disfavor. It can be looked forward to with anticipation, for many questions are unresolved in the Czechoslovakian matter. In the West the question is still posed whether a resistance to the Soviet invasion would not have been possible after all. Mlynar's view is that in the summer of 1968, such a problem could not even have been discussed in the Czech governing committees, because the dogmatists still had their representatives in those committees. Perhaps in May of 1968, i.e. at the beginning, the whole discussion with the Soviets should have been put on the basis of state sovereignty, instead of emphasizing the ideological factor; then there might have been more room for organizational precautions. As things were, the Soviets might have been quite glad in August 1968 if there had been shooting then and there; out of such incidents they would then have been able to draw additional arguments for their propaganda. Concerning another question, that of the alleged "list" of persons from the Central Committee, the government, and the parliament whom the Soviets represent as having expressly desired the invasion, Mlynar believes there is no such list. Bilak had recently maintained the opposite on his visit to Vienna and even declared that the names would be leared when the "list" was finally published. What does exist, says Mlynar, is the text of a "letter of invitation," formerly published in the Moscow PRAVDA, which had originally been intended as a basis for establishing a so-called "revolutionary government." But signatures are not obtained; and the Soviets dropped the whole matter. Thus as Mlynar says, the Soviets have no justification whatever which they can impute to their action--a fact which could certainly play a role once again.



## HUNGARY

### IMPROVING STANDARD OF LIVING

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by m.s.: "Living Conditions Continue to Improve in Budapest":  
Today's Press Conference by SZBT's [Budapest Council of Trade Unions]  
Managing Secretary]

[Text] This morning, Mrs Istvan Marton Dr, managing secretary of the Budapest Council of Trade Unions, held a press conference about the living and working conditions of the capital city's workers, and the trade unions' tasks in this respect.

The press conference analyzed many sides of the development of Budapest's workers' living and working conditions. One factor of this is the change in incomes.

The wages and income of those working in the capital city significantly increased, or will increase this year.

In the first half of this year, the average wages of those employed in industry, in the construction industry and in domestic trade increased by 7 percent, and average income increased by 5.6 percent, compared to last year. The central wage measures increased the income of about 400,000 of the capital's workers, 40,000 of them received wage increases and also shift premium.

The SZBT's managing secretary also spoke of the capital city's manpower problems. Age composition shifted unfavorably, the number of those under 14 years of age and over retirement age is increasing in the population, and the ratio of those between 14-24 years of age decreased significantly. There is a shortage of about 50,000-60,000 workers at the places of employment.

The problem is particularly grave in health care, in food retails, in services and in education.

Benefits beyond wages have increased significantly. Last year, the sum of the benefit- and cultural funds at the enterprises examined, was 72 percent

higher than in the previous year. It is unfavorable that many enterprises, at the time of composing their plans, do not coordinate these plans for the development of child care institutions, the material and personal conditions and requirements of housing construction and plant health care with the councils.

Social benefits increased in 1976-77 at a rate faster than income derived from work. And though favorable changes can be seen, the ratio of those on sick-leave are still too high: an average of 68,000 people stay away from their jobs daily in Budapest this year, with illness given as reason.

In the continued improvement of living conditions, of the standard of living, today the most important thing is the change in housing conditions.

In the last year and a half, over 25,000 families moved into new apartments in Budapest; at this time, the ward councils maintain 140,000 apartment applicants on their lists, and this number is constantly increasing. Of the new apartments, 70 percent are awarded to working families, 40 percent to young married couples, and the housing problems of families with 3 or more children are also solved out of turn. It is receiving support that during the present five-year plan, as much as possible, the housing problems of those with 2 children should be solved partially. Those will be considered preferentially who submitted valid applications prior to 31 December 1975.

Today, day care centers accommodate 91 percent of those of day care age in Budapest. Nurseries can only provide space for 21 percent of the little ones. This year again, about half of the admission applications had to be rejected. Child care assistance is not the whole solution by any means, because many mothers--this is the experience--if they could find a place for their children, would stay at home for a year at the most. It is noteworthy that almost half of the 153,000 elementary school children were able to be admitted to day care centers. Further efforts are needed, particularly to broaden the availability of institutional feeding of elementary and secondary school students.

Hospital bed problems are expected to decrease in the capital city, due to new construction. Today the situation is still difficult. The institutional network is obsolete, several buildings have become unsuitable, in spite of all efforts, to care for patients. The reconstruction of hospitals has also temporarily decreased the number of hospital beds. It is pleasing that the number of births in Budapest is up, and though the number of maternity ward- and gynecology beds has increased, problems are not few. In general, the pre-delivery rooms are not suitable for the requirements. To locate these institutions in the physicians' clinics or near them could be a solution.

The press conference also dealt with labor protection, environmental protection and traffic safety. Some decrease can be felt in the number of accidents and in the number of days lost because of this. But it is a warning signal that in public road traffic, there were more accidents with injuries in the first half of the year, and the 6.8 percent increase in the number of accidents involving children is stunning.

(The press conference continues at this paper's deadline).

## HUNGARY

### GASPAR PRESENTS POSITION, AIMS OF TRADE UNIONS

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 23 Oct 77 pp 3-5

[Article by Sandor Gaspar: "The Hungarian Trade Unions and the Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] Trade unions come into being and develop amidst definite social conditions; definite social conditions and social needs justify their existence and functioning. Their development is linked to capitalist social and production relationships but their functioning grows beyond the frameworks of capitalism and their existence and functioning are also necessary amidst socialist social and production relationships and during the construction of the developed socialist society.

For the first time in history the trade unions guided by the Bolshevik Party faced the problem of what the role of the trade union movement should be under conditions where power was in the hand of the worker class. It is well known that it was not easy to give an answer to this question; this took place amidst debates and conflicts. In this debate, in which the most varied extreme views saw the light of day and contended together--from the Trotskyite idea of nationalizing the trade unions to the ideas of the so-called worker opposition--victory went to the Lenin principles which constitute the theoretical foundation for the trade union policy of the parties of the socialist countries, including the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

Lenin laid down the basic principles for the work of trade unions operating amidst socialist conditions, principles which are still valid today and which will be valid in the future also. He did not want to make the trade unions into a state organ and he did not permit them to be subordinated to the state leadership. He realized the influence of the revolutionary party within the trade unions and while noting the indispensable necessity of party guidance he always emphasized the extra-party character of the trade unions and trade union independence. These Lenin ideas aided and aid today an orientation in this matter because with the victory of the worker power in the socialist countries the trade unions found themselves in an entirely new

situation as compared to the relationships of capitalism. Their role changed radically amidst the new political, power and production relationships and it gradually took on many new aspects which, naturally, it could not have had under the conditions of capitalism.

The trade unions working in the socialist countries are trade unions of a new type. The most important change affecting the situation of the trade unions is that they are the organizations of that class which exercises state power.

But the trade unions do not become state organizations; their activity is decisively based on the spontaneity and independent activity of the workers. Under the conditions of capitalism the trade unions necessarily opposed and still oppose state power and the organizations which supported it. Under socialist conditions the worker class uses its trade unions to strengthen its power and broaden the mass base thereof. The trade unions participate in the exercise of power with educational and persuasive methods characteristic of social organizations. Their rights have been expanded, their goals are more comprehensive and many-sided and they influence the development of the fate of the entire people.

In the service of the interests of the worker class the trade unions must keep in mind that the worker class is in power but they must also keep in mind that the workers gathered together by them are employees living from wages and salaries for whom the trade unions are the historically developed interest defending organizations. To carry out this dual role adequately is a difficult and complex task, as experience proves.

Under socialist conditions there is no sort of political, legal or other obstacle to organization which serves the interests of the worker class. As a result the trade unions really become mass organizations, gathering together the overwhelming majority of the worker class, of those living from wages and salaries. Thanks to their fully developed organizations they include and are capable of mobilizing workers living from wages and salaries in every place of work. This increases their significance and responsibility and the social demands made on them.

Under the conditions of capitalism the trade unions generally defend and represent the interests of the organized workers. Under socialist conditions the activity of the trade unions serves not only the interests of those living from wages and salaries but also general interests of every worker. The increased rights make possible not only a defense of employee interests but also the institutionalized inclusion of the worker class in leadership and in public life. As the organizations of the leading class of the worker power they necessarily participate in deciding every essential question which fundamentally affects the entire life of society which directly or indirectly touches the workers gathered in the trade unions.

## The Link Between the Party and the Trade Unions

The trade unions carry out their activity with the guidance of the party and the ideological and political leadership of the party is realized in their activity. Party guidance ensures the ideological and political unity of the trade union movement and ensures that the activity of the trade unions will be directed at serving the most important interests of the worker class, at strengthening the worker power and at aiding the building of socialism.

Democracy is not independent of space and time. Always and everywhere it has had and has class content. "Consult with the workers in every question," Lenin warned, and when he wrote about the role of the trade unions and about their everyday activity he realized that Marxist teaching that the masses should be active participants in the realization of their own historic goals. According to his thinking socialism requires the direct participation of the workers in management, administration and guidance of public life. And this requires raising the professional, political and cultural level of the workers to such an extent that a need to participate in public life will arise in people. And this is accompanied by the fact that the worker class should relate to production and to the affairs of the community in a new way. This is a very difficult road on which progress can be made only step by step.

One condition for the building of socialism, the significance of which it would be difficult to overestimate in our system, is the social activity of the workers. Lenin assigned to the trade unions, as the largest and most comprehensive mass organizations of the ruling class, the role of gathering the workers together and training them for leadership, management and administration. Lenin saw in the trade unions that organization within whose frameworks the ruling class could raise itself up. They should work, study and cultivate themselves so that they should be capable of carrying out their historic calling on a class scale. It is in this sense that the trade unions are the schools of communism.

Under socialist conditions the "almost classical" area of trade union activity is work which aids production and management. This is of fundamental importance for only productive work, a strong people's economy, ensures a systematic increase in the standard of living and expanding goods for distribution and accumulation. Those living from wages and salaries enjoy all the results of work but if development is not satisfactory, if management does not improve, if production does not increase, if the quality of work or discipline are objectionable then they feel the disadvantages of these things too. Production, work at a higher level, creates greater income, better social services and higher pensions. The results of production make possible a shortening of working time, the development of cultural and health services and of education, and the fulfillment of internationalist obligations.

These Lenin principles fundamentally characterize the activity of the Hungarian trade unions and of socialist trade unions in general. Increasingly valid today is that statement of the Eighth World Trade Union Congress

according to which: "...The trade unions of the socialist countries have rights and opportunities, responsibility and freedom which were previously unknown in any other system."

Under socialist conditions the defense of interests also is work which embraces a broader sphere. We, as the class in power, must answer for the entire national future. The basic goal, service to the cause of the workers, is essentially the same. The defining difference is in the opportunities for trade union work for we possess the power and every necessary tool thereof and--making use of the possibilities and obligations deriving from this--we can work with the responsibility of the masters of the country. This has made it possible and necessary to quickly outgrow the "clothes of the classic trade union movement" and undertake something qualitatively different and more than in the period of capitalism.

#### Only in the Socialist System

Under the conditions of the worker power the trade unions enjoy their "golden age." Their role, rights and tasks constantly increase and become more profound. History proves that only the socialist system can ensure to the trade union movement those broad rights in the proper exercise of which it can represent and defend, at a high level in every respect, the just interests of the workers as a whole and of the individual.

Many cannot adequately appreciate the variegated nature and class character of the trade union movement of the socialist countries. Certainly we also bear the responsibility for this because we have not been able to show our own reality realistically. One explanation for this is that in a critical period of the struggle to consolidate power there was a considerable intertwining of those organizations which represented the worker power in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Spheres of activity and party, state and trade union functions were woven together. Perhaps the shadow of this follows us still; although we changed in practice long ago we did not talk about it enough.

With progress in socialist construction work the function of the trade union is constantly modified further, is supplemented and becomes more profound. With social development ever more tasks and more complex tasks await the trade union movement. We should note that we Hungarians came to this recognition by a study of the literature of Lenin but also via our own bitter experiences, experiences demanding a sacrifice of blood. The leaders of the Hungarian party prior to 1956 ignored the Lenin principles pertaining to party guidance of the trade unions, their organizational independence, their social role and, before all else, their interest defending activity. They ignored the fact that under the conditions of the worker power also the trade unions have an obligation to defend the interests of the workers, of their members, and have an obligation to take action against the bureaucratic excesses of the state. Lenin saw clearly the necessity of this and also that

without the exercise of this activity the trade unions would be incapable of satisfying their tasks directed at strengthening the power and at economic development.

For all its magnificence and historical value the Hungarian trade union movement before the liberation worked under restrictions in a narrow area. At that time it could struggle essentially only to see that the working man could sell his work under conditions as favorable as possible. It also tried to defend the workers against despotism. Under the conditions of society at that time--since they were opposed to the power--the trade unions could only concentrate their strength on this and social and cultural activity, the tasks of social care and education, could represent only a much smaller task.

But the Hungarian trade unions always adopted as their own the great century old dream of the labor movement, the building of socialism. It was for this that they took part in winning the worker power and participate ceaselessly in strengthening and defending it and in building the developed socialist society. Thus they stepped out of that narrow area in which they could live and act prior to the liberation. Today the trade union movement is the most comprehensive mass organization of the Hungarian worker class, of workers living from wages and salaries. It gathers in its ranks workers and working people at the most varied levels of awareness and theoretical political firmness. It carries out its tasks by winning over its members, avoiding force and the giving of orders, by using the methods of persuasion.

We should always weigh the human side of tasks and the effect of them on the working masses. It is our obligation, deriving from our trade union calling, to look with the eyes of the working people, to hear with their ears and think with their brains. In questions affecting the life of society and the lives of the working people the Hungarian trade unions have a voice, importance, respect, authority, moral and material assets, opportunities and organizational strength. Their rights make it possible for them to carry out their functions amidst the conditions of socialism at an ever higher level. The trade unions enjoy the trust and active support of their 4 million members, and with their work they weave themselves into the life of society as a whole.

#### The Trade Unions are Political Factors

The program of building a developed socialism, however, places new and higher demands before the Hungarian trade unions. It obliges us to improve the quality and effectiveness of our work and increase the effect our work has on events and on the masses. We are well aware that the development outlined in the program statement of the MSZMP can be achieved only with work done well, with a fulfillment of quality requirements and with maximal exploitation of the reserves and possibilities of the socialist social system. These goals, requirements and tasks were embodied in the resolution of the 23rd Congress of Hungarian Trade Unions.

The Hungarian trade unions have become political factors. Lenin formulated the link between the proletarian power and the trade unions as follows: "If there were no base such as the trade unions the dictatorship could not be realized and state functions could not be carried out. The trade unions create the vanguard link with the masses, the trade unions win the masses in the course of their everyday work, they win the masses of that class which alone is capable of leading us from capitalism to communism." In judging the trade unions and in developing their chief activities Lenin always started from class interests. He started from the position that the building of a socialist society was not possible without worker power. We can thus take with conviction the only correct position, that in the possession of power, in a society building socialism, the tasks of the trade unions are defined by its obligations to the worker power. The classical interest defending function of the trade unions is not contradicted at all by this fundamental truth. On the contrary! Realizing the fundamental interests of the workers and an increased satisfaction of their needs depends on how strong the worker power is, on how its economic strength increases. Thus, in the question of power no division of the worker class can remain neutral.

Lenin was a firm believer in having the trade unions deal with a defense of the interests of the worker class, the class interests as well as the immediate interests of individual, group and professional categories. The worker-peasant state--Lenin taught--still has bureaucratic excesses; its organs and its employees should be subjected to supervision by the masses and many of its measures should submit to democratic correction. Since opposing interests exist in socialism too--even if they are not antagonistic--it is necessary for the trade unions to represent and defend the daily and professional interests of the workers; the tasks of the trade unions include the discovery of opposing interests and the harmonization of interests. It is one of our fundamental tenets that no one should suffer injustice or wrong in the socialist system. This would be incompatible with socialism. Arbitrariness, injustice and bureaucracy still exist. We wanted to decrease this by creating a new form of activity, the factory legal aid service. Now that this has been introduced greater attention is being turned to the affairs of workers in the factories. The committees deal with several tens of thousands of cases each year, a significant number of which can be settled within the factory. This is an organic part of our policy of legality and everyone should strive to see that there are not and cannot be violations of the law, nationally or locally. The law applies to everyone and is valid for everyone.

The Hungarian trade unions have a place in every link of state power and they can enforce the realistic demands of the membership. Two examples from the recent past: It was said at the 23rd Congress of Hungarian Trade Unions that material incentives should be strengthened further. Higher wages should be received by those working on continuous operations, in multiple shifts under more difficult conditions. The trade unions formulated their proposals at the end of 1975 and the government measure, which has already gone into



effect, concerning shift differentials appeared in the first half of 1977. At this same trade union congress it was said that the rights of the trade unions should be increased in connection with establishing individual wages. Not a year had passed when, in 1976, there was a decision concerning the concurrence rights of trade union stewards. In accordance with this the enterprise economic leaders can establish wages, awards and many material, social and moral rewards only with the concurrence of the trade union stewards. This year, in addition to increasing the rights of trade union groups and stewards, the trade union steward groups also received important rights.

### Responsibility, Obligations

Participating in the power is accompanied by responsibility and obligations. When formulating demands we always start from the position that strengthening the worker power is a first order interest and task of the workers and thus of their trade unions too. But the interests of various strata, trades and individuals differ in a socialist society too. The trade unions must support just individual and group interests and real interests of various classes and strata; but in the course of harmonizing these interests they should always start from the primacy of social interests. It is the position of the Hungarian trade unions that that which is in the interest of society is directly or indirectly useful to the groups, strata and individuals too.

The laws in Hungary guarantee that the economic leadership of enterprises or a state organ can decide no question--affecting the interests of the workers--without the workers and the trade unions. The rights of the trade unions are broad, they have extensive rights of counsel and concurrence, but even more important than this is that the representatives of the employer do not have contrary interests and they create good conditions so that the trade unions can exercise their rights well. Those sitting around the conference table start from fundamentally identical interests and goals and even if they weigh matters from different sides they jointly seek possibilities for decisions which take into consideration individual and group interests as well as all-social interests.

The relations between the party and the trade unions are being built on new foundations of principle. From the very beginning the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party developed its link to the trade union movement on the basis of the Lenin principles. The starting point was that it would be impossible to formulate political, social goals and to realize these goals without the active participation of the trade unions.

The trade unions of capitalist countries generally conceal their contacts with political parties. As they see it they can only preserve the unity of their own ranks and their adherence to the cause of the workers if they pledge--at least formally--that they do not have to take into consideration the demands of party politics. In Hungary only one political party, a party

striving for the happiness of the workers and the entire people, plays the leading role in society. The trade unions adopt as their own the guiding line of the MSZMP because this line has in view the interests of the workers. At the same time the trade unions are the independent social organizations of the workers for which the decisions of the membership and of the bodies elected by the membership are binding. We have never made a secret of the fact that the trade unions act by following the guide of the party.

We interpret the pertinent Lenin principle to mean that the leading organs of the party observe our work and aid our activity with advice. Aid and the giving of advice do not become direct intervention or the giving of orders. Organizationally, in guiding our organizations, we are independent; and how we represent the just interests of the workers and how we help the building of a socialist society in our homeland with our own tools depends on us.

But we should never confuse independence, in the sense of standing on our own feet, with independence from, in the sense of a lack of dependence on, the party. The independence of the trade unions does not mean political independence or neutrality because under our conditions this would mean being separate from or distancing ourselves from the interests of the class, from the worker class.

It is the mission of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party to guide and lead the building of a developed socialist society in our homeland. But it cannot do everything by itself. The leading role of the party, its vanguard character, the responsibility of the members of the party does not mean that the party, the party organizations, must solve every problem directly. The organizations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, including the trade unions, act in concert. The party turns great care to seeing that the trade union movement can carry out its tasks independently. We serve the same cause, the cause of the worker class and the people, but we do so in different ways, everyone in accordance with his own function. In this way our work has become richer and more substantive. The independent face of the trade union movement is appearing ever more clearly in the common tasks. The trade union movement today is capable of serving the cause and goal of socialism in its own way and in accordance with its mission.

The practice of recent years shows that party guidance of the trade unions by ideological and political means is effective. This means that party guidance is realized not by means of resolutions which are binding for trade union organs but rather by means of the activity of party members, of communists, working here. Naturally this increases the responsibility and obligations of the party members, requires that they recognize the principles which define the role of the trade unions and demands of them that they know how to apply the policy of the party. The independence of the trade unions can be realized on the basis of such methods; their democratic, elected leading organs and bodies can work effectively in this way. I would add that this method is very useful not only for the trade unions but also

for the party. It is an indispensable tool for getting to know the opinion of the masses and thus for controlling the correctness of politics in practice. In other words, the trade unions help the party to enrich and develop its policies by making use of the opinion of the organized workers.

When, in the course of their activity, the trade unions take a stand for adherence to legality, when they defend the just interests of the workers, of the trade union members, when they criticize or make realistic demands of the economic and state leaders they are representing the policy of the party, strengthening the worker power and building a link between the party and the workers.

#### The Relations Between the State and the Trade Unions

The relations of the state and the trade unions have been placed on new foundations also. The 9th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party stated: "It strengthens the worker power and increases the effectiveness of socialist construction if every state organ and social organization works independently in its proper way." But the fundamental identity of view and interest of the socialist state and of the trade unions does not mean that the organs of the state and the trade union organs approach the various problems from an identical point of view. The supreme organ of state administration, the government, well recognizes the economic possibilities, the financial and other assets available. It surveys the various themes nationally, "from above." The trade unions also are informed about the possibilities of the country and have the information needed for decisions but at the same time they feel and express, "day by day" and directly, the real needs and mood of the working masses and worker strata. They know the emotional, political and practical effect of the different measures; they see and can well evaluate the situation "from below." These two sorts of experience are harmonized in the interest of the common goal and this produces favorable conditions for reaching decisions which best serve the socialist society.

Measures affecting the living and working circumstances of workers living from wages and salaries are worked out together. The government, the ministries and the chief authorities require the opinions and proposals of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] and of the industrial and branch trade unions. The leaders of the government and of the SZOT regularly confer on these questions. The trade unions strive to see that the economic views of the enterprise and economic organs do not become rigid, do not force into the background social principles and the rules of human dignity and socialist life.

The cooperation also shows how the activity and rights of the trade unions are fulfilled in our social system. The Hungarian trade unions control social insurance, worker protection and pension management. He who knows the history of the labor movement well knows that the workers and the trade unions fought a century long struggle for rights in these areas. The wage struggle is more or less the "classical" area of trade union activity.

Today it is almost natural that we cannot decide in any national or individual wage question without the trade unions. Only he who knows the struggle which was waged for this can know what great significance this has.

These examples also show why the trade unions in the socialist countries have no need for the strike weapon. At one time the strike was a good tool for the trade union movement; at times it was the only tool for the struggle.

Under socialist conditions the strike is not a criterion of trade union rights. As the social weight and role of the trade unions increase the strike becomes less and less a tool.

The practice of recent years proves that the cooperation of the SZOT and the government is of great significance for both sides, a substantively important form of working contact too. But for this reason the cooperation must be developed further in the manner required by life and its content and methods must be raised to the level of the ever more complex tasks of the present and future periods. This also applies to the cooperation of the trades and the ministries and of the trade union committees and economic leaders.

Various legal and political guarantees aid the realization of the frameworks, forms and rules of cooperation between the trade unions and the state organs. The state organs have an obligation to respect and to aid the realization of the trade union rights guaranteed by law. The action possibilities guaranteed to them place political obligations on the trade unions and legal obligations on the state organs.

In the course of this cooperation the trade unions justly expect that the state and economic leaders will always reckon with the political effects of their actions, will respect the rights of the trade unions and will adequately plan measures to improve the living and working circumstances of the workers and their social situation. The common work should be concentrated on developing the direction of and ideas for the most important common tasks and on a joint definition of what is to be done rather than on providing information after the fact. The economic leaders are understanding better and better that the exercise of trade union rights is a state and economic interest--a public interest--which the economic leadership has an obligation to support and aid. But the trade union organs also must consider in an ever more responsible fashion whether there are realistic material and awareness conditions for the satisfaction of demands made by them. The trade unions should assist in setting priorities for the solution of tasks, should contribute to expanding the material base needed for their satisfaction, should support the economic leadership in creating enterprise order and discipline and should encourage better work and operations organization in the interest of maintaining the balance of the economy.

## Politics and Democracy

The trade unions organize the strengthening of the worker power and a defense of worker interests with special attention to three areas because every achievement in these areas has an effect on our entire development.

We are realizing a form of politics and a form of democracy in which the working man knows and feels that he has a voice, that his ideas, proposals and criticism are needed. This is the realization of a higher stage in the building of socialism because it provides a harmony for participation in common thought and action which is characteristic of socialism.

No form of material incentive can replace the ability of the workers to identify with the leadership and to carry out decisions as their own. In socialism no one has the right to obstruct the aspiration of the workers to have a voice in the life of their place of work within the frameworks of factory democracy. If this should happen someplace then it violates the essence of our system and does it damage.

Under the conditions of worker power the trade unions become an important organ of the democracy which is being realized in production, in the economy. On the one hand the activity of the trade unions, the functioning of the various trade union forums and organs, offer an immediate possibility and an organizational framework for participation by the workers in "public life," that is in management, leadership and administration, and, are also representative institutions of factory democracy which represent all the workers at every level of the economic leadership in accordance with their mission. The trade union movement becomes the "school of communism" primarily in this respect, that within its frameworks the workers learn their possibilities, rights, responsibilities and common interest in the building of a socialist society on an ever broader scale and in ever greater numbers.

Naturally, the worker, the working man, does not approach socialist democracy as he would a new suit of clothes which he tries on, fixes up, buys and then wears. Socialist democracy is not a ready-made, developed condition but rather a developing process, a process which is closely interdependent with the development of society as a whole. Its content, extent and level depend on the level of economic development and the development of political and awareness relationships but they also depend on the past and on historical traditions. When man's life is no longer characterized by work "from dawn to dusk," by concern for acquiring "one's daily bread," then life changes and we advance more quickly in communal thinking, in culture and in the development of our life in a socialist direction.

Unfortunately we have not yet reached the point where the actual situation is obvious and natural to every worker. This is a slower process than we had thought and it is not easy to overcome in this regard the numerous erroneous views and backward ideas. We are trying to get the worker, the

working man, to concern himself with public matters and the realization of production tasks, not only to recognize them formally. Increased activity can be expected from the workers only if we share the problems with them and acquaint them with the tasks.

The principle is democratism in preparation and discipline in execution. Naturally, democratic elements cannot be banished from execution either. On the contrary! The workers should be encouraged to seek and recommend better methods for execution. They should point out difficulties in time and should participate in overcoming them. It is in the course of execution that it will become clear whether the decision was really good and correct, whether it suited the prior thinking.

We are now working on the construction of the developed socialist society and so the goals and tools of factory democracy are different from what they were in past years or decades. The Constitution and the Labor Code guarantee the basic democratic rights of the workers and working people. There are forums--production conferences, conferences of brigade leaders--where the opinions of the factory's workers can be expressed in a lively and realistic way, where their recommendations find a hearing.

Even heretofore a decision could be made about the use of certain material assets within the factory after questioning the factory's workers, making use of their contribution. We have gained certain experiences in this way which are generally good but they also warn us that we must go farther on this road. One example of this is the profit which remains in the factory which can be used for various purposes. The system thus far has been that the economic leadership parcelled it out, how much could be spent for what. Then they asked the opinion of the party executive committee and then the trade union committee got it. They took a look at it and then the workers were informed either through the stewards or at a conference--so much for wages, so much for social and cultural purposes, so much for something else--and they asked for their opinion. So this has been a democratic method. What are its deficiencies?

#### Adding Production

The defect is that the economic leadership, the party executive committee and the trade union committee could not assume full responsibility for a decision. The worker collectives must assume a larger part in this. We cannot just "dream up" a method of distribution. Such things must be worked out in accordance with the requirements of our socialist system. It has happened that certain questions had to be corrected after a debate with the workers. In the future this must be so to an even greater extent--this is the goal. We know, it is well known, that the immediate workers interests are not all of one type in the factories, in the places of work. It is infinitely difficult to orient oneself amidst the many demands when not one of them is unambiguously unjust. As we develop and grow the scale of demands

will expand. Of course the demands must be rank ordered but it is not good if this is decided only centrally, if decisions are made only at the level of the factory triangle or square. We must now advance in this area.

The trade unions participate in the defining of production tasks with their own possibilities and tools. They are the mobilizers of factory life, of the labor competition, of the innovation movement and of professional training. They aid and espouse everything which helps production and they take action against lack of organization, violations of work discipline, damage to social property and violations of social interest. Their positions and recommendations reflect the opinions, observations and needs of the organized workers. The increased attention to human factors by the trade unions can make production better. Discipline has to be taught to millions. Millions have to be made to understand that everything depends on the quality of work, on increasing the productivity of work. In the present stage of our development--and because of the situation which has developed in the world economy--the tasks are becoming more complex and complicated and solving them requires that we strive in a more organized way and with greater awareness to uncover our internal reserves. A modernization of the socialist labor competition could be a basic condition and tool for this.

The soul of a lively mass movement is always initiative, enthusiasm, voluntary action for the realization of the goals. This should not be forced into the constraints of a mass of rules and unfulfillable requirements. Such a method does not inspire but rather destroys faith and trust. Undertaking must be fitted to the tasks and to individual possibilities and interests. We should never forget that socialism does not need "average men" but rather that it wants to develop the individuality, aptitudes and abilities of everyone. We must know how far a person has come in developing a socialist relationship to work, the level of his professional knowledge and culture, the extent to which he has become a communal person. And the undertakings must be fitted to this.

Human factors are becoming more important in economic development--the role of view, behavior, preparedness, leadership, responsibility and discipline. This is why the trade unions are supporting such powerful factors of economic development as initiative and receptiveness to the new. They are aiding a regular exchange of opinions between leaders and workers. They are taking action everywhere for the elimination of conditions which disturb a good place of work atmosphere and they are taking action against apathy, irresponsibility and incompetence. Workers and working people want to obtain with their work not only material goods; they would also like to realize their individual abilities and ideas in work, for the good of themselves and of the community. They justly demand respect and recognition for their work, material and moral recognition. The trade unions should urge suitable recognition for those who work honestly and in an exemplary fashion so that people will see clearly the difference between people who work well, diligently and in a disciplined fashion and those who do their work badly, negligently and irresponsibly.

## The Builders of a New Life

The socialist brigade movement is a child of our socialist life, a pledge of a life which is developing and becoming richer. Its existence and its role, the content of its activity derive from our ideals and principles, from the profound harmony of our social goals and individual fate. It unites in itself the purest and most beautiful human traits, those which were always characteristic of the life of the workers since the worker class appeared on the stage of history. It preserves the progressive worker traditions while bearing and carrying forward the future, the building of which is the cause and hope of us all.

Economic development and increasing economic efficiency requires a change in human views and thinking too. We must overcome old habits and "reflexes" which cling to the practice of earlier years; we must overcome routine modes of behavior. There is a need for sensitivity and flexibility, for a view which will bravely break with what is outmoded and obsolete, which will embrace everything which is new and progressive and will carry out everything which will raise the economy of our homeland to a higher stage of development. The trade unions can do much and are doing much so that such a view and practice will take root. This is in the national and in the international interest.

"The trade unions are not only professional organizations," Lenin taught. "The trade unions must be the builders of a new life and must educate more millions and tens of millions...." The trade unions are the schools of communism. "The trade union... is not a state organization, not an organization of force, but rather an educating organization, an organization for assembling and educating, a school, a school of administration, a school of management, the school of communism."

According to the teachings of Lenin the trade union is a school for the workers on a mass scale which is capable of demonstrating and getting accepted the interdependencies of the political, economic, social and cultural questions on the agenda. It is on this basis that it is capable of organizing the masses for voluntary social action. The significance of the trade unions as a many-sided school does not end amidst the circumstances of developed socialism; it is consummated.

In what and to what extent have the Hungarian trade unions realized their role as the school of communism? They have developed the socialist labor competition, they have made the workers aware that they are the number one creators of economic life. With their educational work they have strengthened the proprietary view and the socialist relationship toward work. They have awakened and strengthened in their members the ideals of international worker solidarity and proletarian internationalism. The peoples fighting for their freedom and independence partake of the systematic support of the Hungarian organized workers, their moral and political support and--in measure with their strength--their material support. They have built up



their organizations which aid worldview, political and cultural education and they have built up activist networks which play an ever greater part in carrying out the general tasks of the trade union movement.

They are strengthening and developing socialist characteristics with ideological and political education work. They are doing this not only because these do not develop of themselves in everyone but also because workers and working people also are affected by external, class alien and anti-socialist influences. This is the most effective protection against such influences.

### The Road of Human Prosperity

In the process of building a socialist society it is natural that socialist and non-socialist elements should be mixed in the thinking and behavior of the workers. With the majority of the working people we have achieved significant results in strengthening the socialist traits. Our life has become richer and more substantial; our socialist values are becoming increasingly a general treasure. A socialist society can accept neither asceticism and levelling nor petit bourgeois striving aimed at a one-sided acquisition of material goods. Our socialist society is striving to create a way of life which combines material enrichment on the basis of work well done with the need for moral and spiritual enrichment and creates conditions and possibilities for a rational, substantive, cultured life.

The development of communal thinking and activity is not the result of a brief period or of a sudden decision and it takes place not with an obvious turning but rather amidst a thousand human manifestations which accompany our life to the end. This is a process in which even the smallest progress merits recognition because only in this way can one consistently travel to the end the road which leads to the development of the socialist man. In many respects the traits which characterize the socialist man have already become organic parts of our life. Those who always undertake more than is required live among us and work with us. Collectives with a healthy spirit listen to their words, recognize their activity and regard them as examples. No one is surprised to see a worker studying in his free time or a mother who undertakes an office in public life. It is increasingly natural that the socialist brigades should try to help their members even through the difficulties of private life.

The trade unions see the road of human prosperity in the communities, see work as the foundation of progress, adopt the socialist ideal of life and educate their members to this. They help them to become men who will be able to form their own opinions, men who are prepared, cultured and experienced in social life. Men who do their work responsibly because they seem in this way to achieve their goals. Men who are characterized by communal thinking and behavior and a constant development of culture.

The trade unions must develop the class awareness of their members. We are turning special attention to the education of young workers, those who recently entered the factory and have just now begun their worker life.

We should help them to become self-aware workers as soon as possible, help them to develop those characteristics which are typical of the worker class: discipline, organization, love of their trade, solidarity and collectivism. We are also turning attention to educating them in the spirit of the labor movement traditions, strengthening their worker self-esteem and spreading among them the ideals of socialism.

By spreading socialist ideals the trade unions are striving to see that a defining role and increased respect will be given in place of work and social public life to workers who work well, are active for the community and are imbued with feelings of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, who develop human relationships while consciously building the new society and who at the same time develop themselves, enriching themselves with new human values.

The trade union is an internationalist movement. Service to the cause of the worker class cannot be limited to national frameworks. The broad international activity of the Hungarian trade unions is an organic part of their general, everyday work. Our history teaches the Hungarian trade unions and the organized workers to respect international solidarity.

In our day more favorable conditions than ever before for broadening joint solidarity actions are developing in the international trade union movement. The bases for an approach and for cooperation are being created primarily by the efforts of the trade unions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, built on a consistent internationalist and international worker solidarity, but more and more of the trade union leaders of capitalist countries also are recognizing the necessity of starting a dialog and developing their contacts with the trade union movements of the socialist countries.

### International Solidarity

International worker solidarity is among the most beautiful traditions of the Hungarian trade unions. We are doing everything to create fraternal contacts in accordance with our historic mission with the organizations of other countries, without regard to the social system in which they live.

The Hungarian trade unions attribute great significance to their activity within the WFTU.

The World Federation of Trade Unions and the national trade union centers gathered in its ranks always take a stand for the defense of the interests of the worker class on class foundations. True to the obligations which it has undertaken since its formation in 1945 the WFTU fights untiringly for the realization of such goals as the eradication of the roots of fascism, ensuring peace, better living and working conditions for workers, liquidation of the colonial system and the unity of the international worker class. With its determined and consistent policy and its brave struggle for the

cause of the international worker class, waged without compromise, the WFTU has won the trust of millions of workers. Its popularity and influence increase year by year.

We are doing everything so that the trade unions working in non-socialist countries should see clearly the independent, unique face of our trade union movement, its methods of work and its social weight and significance. The single goal, a consistent representation of the interests of the workers, guides us and we attribute honorable intentions to all those who are ready for cooperation with us in solving the most important problems of the worker class. Representing the interests and opinions of the workers, we are striving to reach an understanding with all trade unions. It is on this basis that we build our bilateral contacts with the trade unions of other countries and participate in international actions.

A great historical transformation is taking place today in the trade union movement around the world, but especially in Europe. There are two fundamental reasons for this: the trade unions of the socialist countries have become stronger and thus a trade union movement corresponding to socialist relationships is developing. We are not yet at the peak but we are already doing what must be done under socialist conditions. This is a great example and has great attractive force. With the strengthening of the trade unions of the socialist countries new aspects of international worker solidarity and trade union unity are gradually developing, the fullest cooperation, extending to trade union work as a whole, and the exchange of experiences. The foundation for cooperation is the identity of interests, the uniform nature of goals and aspirations, the strengthening of the worker power and the building of a socialist society. In this, every trade union--whatever trend it represents--can certainly credit itself with a "victory" because the only winner in an approach, in joint actions, is the international worker class, the world trade union movement.

It is our sincere intention--and we are striving to realize this in practice--to establish contact with as many trade unions as possible which do not belong to the WFTU, without regard to differences of worldview or differences in the evaluation of social development. It is our goal, by means of direct contacts, to create the possibility for mutual knowledge of opinions and exchange of experiences in order to disperse prejudices and strengthen an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect.

For more than three decades the Hungarian trade unions have participated in the hard work being done for a socialist society. In proportion to the development of society they have gradually grown up to the requirements of socialism and have become socialist trade unions. Now, when the developed socialist society is being built, this development must be made general in all its details and must be improved in quality. "The great revolutionary transformation which took place in history when the proletariat took over state power created a sharp turning in the activity of the trade unions,"

Lenin said. "The trade unions will be the chief builders of the new society because only the masses of many millions can be the builders of this society."

We have undertaken to aid in the building of a new society, with all its beauties, difficulties and problems. The socialist society is not yet fully developed but it is already better than the most developed capitalist system. It is better because it promises and it gives more and more humanly and more fully. Socialism thus expresses the most noble aspirations of mankind. The pain of socialism does not produce its yield all at once. Its branches grow gradually, they produce fruit, but many promising beginnings die in the flower. The pain of socialism cannot bring every bud to ripe fruit but more and more reach the basket of the harvester. In our homeland power is in the hands of the working people. But the responsibility for power is ours before the progressive world. Socialism is the most magnificent treasure of our people and we defend it well if we constantly develop and enrich it.

If we wanted to summarize very briefly the present state of the trade union movement then I believe we could not put it more succinctly than by saying that the Hungarian trade union movement is now doing what must be done amidst socialist relationships. The trade union movement could hardly receive greater recognition or a better qualification than this. The Hungarian trade unions today carry out their activity amidst peaceful circumstances and consolidated relationships under favorable domestic political and international conditions. But the work is not easier than it was in earlier years. The conditions are more favorable but the tasks are more complex, more complicated and more demanding. We must satisfy the higher requirements of developed socialism. The most important conditions for this exist--the clear policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party resting on Lenin's principles and the mass of trade union officials and activists who have the will and ability to act in accordance with the tasks. And we enjoy the friendship of the trade unions of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries and the growing trust of other trade unions.

8984

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### WORKERS SCORE SHORTAGE, POOR QUALITY OF SAFETY EQUIPMENT

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Oct 77 p 4

[Article by Pal Zsidai: "Why Doesn't the Protective Equipment Protect?"]

[Text] I read in a medical dissertation that the reasons for industrial accidents must first of all be sought in the given techniques and technology. Without doubt, primarily the work process must be made such that it actually excludes accidents. But today's level of technological development does not always make this possible yet. Therefore, in the foreseeable future, beyond strict observation of the technological discipline, the so-called supplementary protection, or individual protective equipment by its more commonly known name, will still have a significant role in accident prevention.

Supply of employees with individual protective equipment, with supplementary protection, improved significantly in the last 15 years. Results were born in research, in manufacture, in sales and in application alike. The people's economy spends--it is even too much to pronounce it--4 billion forints for this purpose annually. About 3.5 million workers use the almost 1,000 types of individual protective equipment. When they use it....!

#### Obstacle in Work

It is a problem that part of the supplementary, individual protective equipment is obsolete, and no longer provide adequate protection--explains Tibor Dornai, chief inspector of SZOT's [National Council of Trade Unions] labor protection department. -- At the same time, their use is uncomfortable. The manufacture and distribution of some of them is not sufficiently modern. Further, frequently one must do without some of the individual protective equipment, protective clothing for longer periods of time, either due to the fault of domestic manufacture, or because of import difficulties, or problems in distribution.

The chief safety inspector takes out a list. It contains those personal protection devices which no longer provide adequate protection, or which the workers do not use because wearing them hinders them in their work.

Unfortunately, the list is long and not even recent. How many times have the workers mentioned that, for example, the fireproof clothing, indispensable in places of increased fire and explosion hazard, are stiff and not vented. And after cleaning, they lose a lot of their resisting ability, flameproofness.

In the chemical industry, among other things, fresh air apparatus and industrial gas masks are, for example, indispensable -- Tamas Vargha, head of the chemical union's safety department reinforces our experiences. -- Yet, it happens often that some of their components are ruined after a brief service. And since they are not replaced, discarding of items valued in the millions is unavoidable.

Solution of the problems is a complex task. In the first place, we mention the manufacturing problems. Since the enterprises are not interested in the manufacture (among other reasons, because of the short runs), they undertake it only if manufacture of the product is economical, and they also have excess capacity. Due to manufacturing and supply problems, for example the already mentioned flameproofed or rubberized clothing, and asbestos ones as well as those which protect against acids, and also welding suits, and further, smelter hats -- just to mention a few from the long list -- cannot always be obtained.

#### To Improve Quality

The quality requirements also leave much to be desired -- Arpad Vaczy, head of Chinoin's safety technology department mentions the faults. -- The traditional work clothes and safety gloves do not keep their sizes. They will shrink 10-16 percent, instead of the permissible 2.5 percent.

The department head of Chinoin Pharmaceutical and Chemical Products Factory showed us the modified version of the so-called flip-up welding goggles. Earlier, these were equipped with felt lining, so that they would not press the user's head. Now they are lined with plastic, which is commonly known to be flammable and uncomfortable. In the Chinoin, they also showed us those rubber gloves and rubber boots which have limited protective abilities: they are permeable to phosphoric acid esters. And we also saw those instant-acting DREGER-type glass-tubes for gas analysis the guarantee time of which expired 10 years ago.

There's nothing else -- the department head spreads his arms, indicating that he is unable to do anything in this matter.

#### Strange "Interests"

It is also a fundamentally erroneous practice that equipment to protect the workers' bodily integrity and life are sold as consumer items. Thus, many offer the more expensive ones, but few the "penny" items, but which are important protective equipment from the viewpoint of protecting life. This is why, at the same time, oversupply and shortage can be seen.

Though many individual protective equipment were modernized in recent times, the rate of development -- primarily in measures taken by the industry branches -- lagged behind the possibilities, and also behind the requirements. Obtaining authorization to manufacture and distribute individual protective equipment is also sluggish.

Often, really, we have to do this work also -- fumes Chinoin's safety technology department head. -- But we could find plenty of other things to do.

Fortunately, we have already succeeded in achieving that purchase of individual protective equipment is not merely a problem of materials purchase.

If it only were like this everywhere! Unfortunately, at many places, incorrectly interpreted savings viewpoints still dominate. Therefore, equipment not the most appropriate for the purpose is obtained, largely omitting examination of their protective abilities. But it is a fact that the significance of individual protective equipment or, in other words, of supplementary protection, is not decreasing but increasing.

Problems in manufacture, supply, and of the missing modernization adversely affect the workers who need secondary protection. This makes it necessary that the question of achieving, as soon as possible, that protective equipment should in all cases protect also, should not be removed from the agenda.

8584

CSO: 2500

ECONOMIC MANEUVER, RESULTS, PROBLEMS VIEWED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 43, 22 Oct 77 p 2

[Article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Not To Begin with One's Comrade"]

[Text] No one conceals the fact that for some time now the Poles have been discontented and irritated that they have to devote decidedly too much time and energy to standing in line and running from store to store in search of really indispensable items.

At the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, the close connection existing between the market situation and community feeling was discussed outright both in the Political Bureau's report and in many of the speeches made by economists and politicians.

Poland's political and economic leaders also evaluated the results achieved to date from the maneuver, or the correction of economic policy, which was carried out at the Fifth and Sixth Plenums of the PZPR Central Committee. The plenum stated without any indirectness that the maneuver must be effected, today and in the future, more consistently and more energetically. Edward Gierek said: "Despite unquestionable accomplishments, the progress made to date in implementing the economic maneuver...represents only a beginning." Poland's political leadership is taking upon itself the duty of speeding up the maneuver, which is understandable. It is convinced that it will not be acting along. The support of society and of the many thousands of cadres of leaders at all levels is the indispensable condition for the implementation of the established goals.

Since the guidelines of the maneuver are supposed to cause marked improvement of the situation on the market, although not immediately, it is understandable that they are meeting with society's acceptance. Society is supporting every economic policy which has as its goal the elimination of the severe lack of many market goods.



Acceptance is a good thing, but it still is not everything. One of the central problems is to understand the causes of the current difficulties with which our economy is grappling. Without that knowledge, overcoming these difficulties will be laborious and may prove only partially successful.

Although we have been occupied without interruption with explaining the laws governing the modern economy and have been analyzing and describing the many conditions, objective and subjective, which have a decisive influence on the rate of Poland's development and which define the extent of successes and setbacks, one still encounters people who only perceive one side of the coin, one aspect of the existing situation, or one detail. Such is human nature, probably, but in spite of that it is difficult to suppress astonishment and even irritation when people who, by virtue of their education or the position they command, should be distinguished in society by a somewhat broader view taking into account all aspects of the problem, present a one-sided view of reality.

This observation has not been taken out of thin air. For example, now, when the PZPR leadership is calling on all working people to participate actively, consciously, and in a disciplined manner in implementing a program for surmounting existing difficulties, one can often come across people who say that everything would be fine if not for the errors made in the management of the national economy. This certainly is a strong opinion, for it is addressed "upwards," and it is expedient, for it removes personal responsibility. It is a very comfortable attitude but, frankly, not a very fair one, for it diverts attention from the main reasons which have brought about tensions and difficulties and which we have to deal with at present. It is a waiter's attitude, such as that expressed in turning a customer over to a colleague; but such an attitude ought to be alien to people responsible for different sectors of our life.

Let us return to our point of departure, that is, to 1971. Poland's program of socioeconomic development for the years 1971-1975, adopted by the Sixth PZPR Congress, entered the implementation phase. Our political language was enriched by slogans which were new, attractive, and appealed to the imagination of the masses. Among them was found the slogan concerning Poland's accelerated development. It was not taken out of thin air or based upon the personal impulses of leaders who wanted in this manner to secure society's gratitude for themselves in the foreseeable future. No matter how indifferent society is, or may be, to any politician, no matter what society thinks about him (supposing it maintains that he is not concerned with society, that he is insincere, or simply that he is not a genuine politician), the mentioned slogan was compelled by the economic and social realities of that time.

There is no reason to hide the fact that these realities were not overly inviting. Everyone who was even slightly familiar with economic matters knew that Poland's development in the 1960's was too sluggish in relation to the

growing needs of the Poles and that economic policy was too defensive and provincial.

Society did not reconcile itself to this situation and therefore supported a program which promised accelerated collection of arrears, the opening up of the economy, and the reduction of the gap dividing us from the more highly developed countries of the world. The party set a course of significant expansion of the industrial base and of modernization of existing industry. Industry producing consumer goods, residential construction, the infrastructure of the country (roads, railroads), and many other similar subjects were found on the list of priorities.

The list of priorities was established without great toil. Life placed ever new goals and new objects on the list. Life means the pressure of real, new needs but also the pressure of particular agencies, regions, voivodships, and professional and other environments. Let whoever has some doubt regarding this fact refer to the newspapers from those years. There he will find many examples of the mentioned pressure. Everyone wanted new investments and considered each of them indispensable. I think that it took a lot to resist the pressures flowing from all sides--the more so that legitimate and pressing needs had sprung up in the majority of cases. And here we come to the heart of the matter: Poland's political and economic leadership adopted decisions in those years on the basis of which one could hope for results more favorable to the national economy. After all, in that 5-year period a tremendous wage program was adopted which caused a conspicuous rise in the standard of living of millions of hard-working people. A rapid increase in the income of the population was acknowledged outright as the order of the moment. The leadership also proceeded with the introduction of an enormous social program. Tremendous resources were mobilized to create jobs for the 1,800,000 young people reaching a productive age in this period. There have been and are no lines of unemployment in our employment offices. Is this bad or good? Undoubtedly, those who have obtained work at this time can give the most convincing response. Nota bene: sometimes I hear the opinion that it would be good for the national economy if such a fairly small army of unemployed did exist. I wonder if those who consider this small army indispensable would agree to supply its ranks? Among the decisions which also should have borne fruit, the transition after 1970 to an active credit policy should be mentioned. Poland negotiated credits for the construction of modern factories and facilities for already existing industry. Credit policy, necessary and justified, met with the full support not only of society in general but also of opinion-shaping circles, among them, economists and journalists. These are indisputable facts.

Among the reasons which caused the present difficulties, we speak most frequently of the several bad years in agriculture and of the deterioration of the situation on the world markets (the rise in the prices of raw materials and of machinery and equipment). These are the basic causes, but they are not everything. It probably should be said outright that certain expectations

which were connected with the program of rapid growth of the income of the population and, to be explicit, with the great stream of money which flowed into the pockets of millions of workers, simply were not fulfilled. We were all counting on the significant improvement of the quality of production, on a considerably greater quantity of goods for market production, and on a marked turning point in work efficiency, for we had, after all, new machinery, new systems for organizing work, and increased possibilities of competing with the more highly developed countries, etc. It is true that progress is evident in all of these matters, but it is definitely insufficient, not only in relation to needs but also in relation to invested resources. It has turned out that adoption of the procedural models characterizing the more highly industrialized countries does not come easily to us as a society, however. A future historian will surely say that the Poles of the 1970's became a modern, industrial people with a great deal of difficulty. But that is a matter for the future. The present is what interests us. It prompts the following conclusion: the mechanisms for planning and managing the economy should be improved. The plenum placed proper importance on this issue. On the other hand we cannot hide the fact that, as a society, in the past 7 years we have lived somewhat on credit, and we have taken more than we have given to each other. This situation cannot last forever. And in this regard each of us has something to do.

I think that in reflecting on the causes of the difficulties which exist at present, it is also worth calling attention to this fact.

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CSO: 2600

## ROMANIA

### ROMANIAN-U.S. COMMISSION TALKS FURTHER ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0921 GMT 3 Nov 77 LD

[Text] Washington, (AGERPRES) 3/11/1977--The fourth session of the Joint Romanian-U.S. Economic Commission started in Washington on 3 November. The Romanian delegation to the session is led by Ion Patan, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and the U.S. delegation by Juanita Kreps, secretary of commerce of the United States.

In the first plenary meeting on this session, analyzed were the results recorded in the Romanian-U.S. economic exchanges and cooperation, as also the prospects for developing them in the next period. The concrete activities on this line are the subject of the commission panels' analyses.

During his U.S. visit, Ion Patan met Senator A. Derwinsky, (?W. Christopher), deputy secretary of state, A. Wolff, ambassador, the office of the special representative for trade negotiations under the White House, and E. Richardson, ambassador for law of the sea matters.

The Romanian minister also had interviews with representatives of economic and financial circles of the United States, such as executives of the "Combustion Engineering," "Lummus," "R.C.A.," "Uniroyal," "Pepsi Cola," "Coca Cola," "Gold Kist," "Island Creef," "Manufacturers Hanover Trust," etc., with Milton Rosenthal, president of "Engelhard Chemicals," chairman of the U.S. of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council.

The economic relations between Romania and the United States have registered remarkable progress of late. Although they are only at the beginning they have broad and promising prospects. Based on the results obtained so far and taking into account the direction and the dynamics of the development of mutual relations, one may assess that there are real premises for attaining the objective set for 1980--annual exchanges worth one thousand million dollars.

The commercial agreement, come into force in August 1975, by which the two countries grant each other the clause of the most favored nation, as also the

long-term agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation, concluded at the beginning of this year, are a solid groundwork for new progress in developing bilateral economic relations. Romania's wish is to secure a clear perspective to these relations which should lend them stability and safety, should permit wide-scope actions by promoting modern forms of cooperation both bilaterally and on third markets. There are precedents: A joint enterprise in electornics is already functioning with good results in Romania. Important is also the understanding according to which Romania will participate in developing the output of coking coal in the United States, this action being the first Romanian investment in the United States.

An important contribution to promoting bilateral economic relations is made by the joint commission as well as by the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council which, every time they were convened, established the adequate modalities for deepening the economic relations between the two countries, based on equality and mutual advantage.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

JOINT COMMISSION EXPANDS ROMANIAN-U.S. ECONOMIC TIES

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 77 p 6 AU

[R. Caplescu dispatch from Washington: "Favorable Prospects for Developing Romanian-U.S. Economic Relations"]

[Text] A useful contribution to expanding and deepening trade exchanges and cooperation ventures between Romania and the United States--this is how one can characterize the proceedings of the fourth session of the Joint Romanian-U.S. Economic Commission, which took place on 2-3 November in Washington. Through the constructive atmosphere in which they took place and the results with which they concluded, the session proceedings demonstrate once more that the development of cooperation between states on the economic plane as well as in other fields of activity and intensified participation of states in the international division of labor are an element of progress and contribute to better utilizing each nation's potential; different social systems cannot be an obstacle to normal relations, when there is a desire for mutual understanding, in keeping with the requirements of peaceful coexistence.

The great resources and the high technological level of the U.S. economy, on the one hand, and the achievements of the developing Romanian economy, on the other hand, offer favorable premises for continued expansion of economic exchanges and cooperation between the two countries, something which can only serve to bring closer the Romanian and U.S. peoples, while also making a contribution to the general cause of peace and cooperation. As is known, this very spirit characterized the declaration on economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation signed by the Romanian and U.S. presidents in December 1973 as well as the other important document, the declaration on principles of cooperation. The exchange of friendly messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Jimmy Carter on the occasion of the White House reception of the chief of the Romanian delegation to the current session of the joint commission unquestionably constitutes a new and significant expression of the desire of the two states to continue to expand bilateral cooperation.

The impetus provided by the above-mentioned documents, as well as by the agreements and understandings concluded on their basis, to the development of economic and other relations is clearly shown by the fact that the volume of trade exchanges has doubled, a fact that was also pointed to with satisfaction during the session proceedings. By the end of this year, it is expected that the volume of exchanges both ways should reach \$600 million; this would create the premises for attaining even sooner the 1980 target of \$2 billion.

Of course, this gladdening perspective pointed out by the two delegation chiefs during the session and the following press conference would be greatly facilitated if a stable and lasting legal basis were secured for Romanian-U.S. economic relations. As a matter of fact, this is required by the very development rate of economic relations, something which obviously implies that appropriate answers and solutions should be found to a number of problems as well as new forms of cooperation designed to lead to continuously expanding and diversifying at the same time both commercial exchanges and various forms of economic cooperation. Along these lines, both the plenary session and the working groups pointed out the broad possibilities for developing modern and highly efficient forms like joint production or marketing companies--a conclusive example of which is the positive experience of the joint Romanian-U.S. company "Control Data Corporation"--and cooperation on third markets.

Under such circumstances, it is all the more important to free economic relations from any limiting measures in order to put these relations on stable foundations indispensable for their continuous development. It is, therefore, a positive thing that during the session both sides stressed the importance of granting the most-favored-nation status for longer periods than is now the case. "There is no doubt that the extension of the most-favored-nation clause for longer periods could have favorable effects," Mrs. Juanita Kreps, U.S. secretary of commerce and chairman of the U.S. delegation to the session, said at a press conference in answer to a question put by the SCINTEIA correspondent; she also referred to some restrictive provisions of the present U.S. legislation. "We will continue to deal with this matter, and hope for progress toward a solution," she said. After stating that the new U.S. law on the administration of exports is designed to accelerate procedures for granting export licenses, the U.S. minister stressed at the end of her statement: "I would like to reiterate our commitment to continue to develop relations with Romania. The expansion of trade and economic relations is a key factor of this process. I believe that the positive atmosphere in which the proceedings of our session took place creates a firm basis for a continued expansion of bilateral economic cooperation."

Of course, such an evolution also advocated by Romania during the current session would accord with the interests of both countries and would also be in keeping with the spirit of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Document, thus making a contribution to encouraging the process of international detente and understanding.

ROMANIA

RCP MESSAGE SALUTES UK COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0905 GMT 12 Nov 77 AU

[Report on message of greetings sent by the RCP Central Committee to the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/11/1977--The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party addressed a warm, comradely salute to the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, to all party members.

The message shows that the working people in Romania follow with feelings of sympathy and solidarity the activity carried on by the Communist Party of Great Britain for the promotion of the fundamental interests of the working class, of the British people, for the building of the unity of action of all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces of Great Britain in the fight for democracy, progress and a better life, for peace and socialism.

The message points out the good relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain as well as the determination of the RCP to campaign in the future as well as for the expansion and diversification of the links between Romania and Great Britain.

The Romanian Communist Party, the message reads, firmly acts for the development of the collaboration and solidarity with the communist and workers' parties, based on fully equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for each and every party's right to shape its revolutionary policy, strategy and tactics in keeping with the historic, national and social conditions in its own country. We are convinced that, based on these principles, the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain will develop an ever more fruitful collaboration, making their contribution to strengthening the forces of socialism and peace throughout the world, to the efforts of the peoples and of the advanced forces for building a better and juster world.

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## ROMANIA

### VILLAGE, COMMUNE URBANIZATION PROGRAM TARGETS SET FORTH

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0917 GMT 05 Nov 77 LD

[Text] Bucharest, 5 November, AGERPRES--An intense process of urbanization is carried on throughout Romania, as an outcome of socialist industrialization, of the policy of rationally distributing the productive forces, with direct repercussions on the quality of the population's life. In Romania the number of the towns grew from 152 in 1948 to 236 at present and in the future 3,000-4,000 rural localities will be turned into agricultural or agroindustrial townlets.

The 120 villages and communes that will radically change their condition under the current Five-Year Plan were chosen according to a thorough analysis made at county and national level. The main criterion was the degree and possibilities of economic development: The future towns already have over 400 industrial units, [word indistinct] 170 of which are of national importance, and 340 agricultural units. Taken into account was also the level of social and cultural facilities. The settlements included in the program have 31,700 places in kindergartens, 4,100 classrooms, and a third of them industrial, agriculture and general-type lyceums, hospitals, maternities, supermarkets and public catering units, and units providing services to the population and travel offices.

The determinant of the urbanization process is the economic progress. Approximately 240 industrial objectives, of which more than half of all-country interest, and CCA.1 70 [as received] agro-zoo technical objectives will be built in the future urban centers by 1980. Industrial investments of great importance for the national economy will be realized at Colibasi (Arges County), Turceni (Gorj County), Tinca (Bihor County), as well as in villages and communes lacking such units, like Pecica (Arad County), Flaminzi (Botosani County), Belcesti (IASI County), and others. At Sintana (Arad County), Podu Turcului (Bacau County), Dragalina (Ialomita County), Minastirea (Ilfov County), big agrozootechnical units will be built. Even this incomplete enumeration points to the attention paid to the balanced distribution of towns on the territory, to the fact that the counties with a lower share of urban population have priority in this process of urbanization.

The carrying into effect of the urbanization program will bring about important mutations in the population's living standard. Twenty-five thousand flats, 700 new classrooms, 9,000 places in kindergartens and 7,000 in creches, hospitals, maternities, Balneal sanatorium compounds with CCA, [as published] 900 beds, department stores, public catering units and units providing services to the population to cover over 110,000 sq.m.-- here are some data for evaluating the social and cultural investments implied by this program.

The new economic units mean new work places, especially in industry, and implicitly premises for raising labor productivity. Stress must be laid on the fact that not only the inhabitants of the future towns will benefit the new working places and the social and cultural investments but the population in the surrounding localities.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

'AGERPRES' REPORTS ON LAW ON WORKING PEOPLES' COUNCILS

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0912 GMT 05 Nov 77 LD

[Text] Bucharest, 5 November, AGERPRES--Recently, the Grand National Assembly of Romania has passed the law on the Congress of the Working People's Councils and the National Council of Working People in Industry, Building and Transport.

On a legislative plane, the passing of this law is a significant expression of the Romanian state's policy of developing socialist democracy, of its permanent preoccupations with finding new forms for the drawing of the masses in the solving of public affairs.

Besides the representative forms of socialist democracy, recent years saw the emergence and development in Romania of a whole set of new forms and structures of workers' democracy, from the Working People's Councils, the general meetings of the working people and the councils per domains in enterprises, the bodies of state workers' control or the Working People's Control Brigades up to production conferences, national conferences and congress in the main domains of economic and social life. All this is meant to insure the effective participation of the working class in the management of economic units, in the whole state governing activity.

As a matter of fact the new law reflects the ever stronger assertion of the leading role of the working class in the contemporary Romanian society. The very numerical growth of the working class concomitantly with the considerable heightened level of its instruction and professional skill acts as a determining factor in continually strengthening its leading role. As a natural consequence of this country's industrialization, the number of workers grew from some one million in 1938 to over five millions in 1976. The proportion of skilled workers is some 85 percent in the national economy as a whole.

The enactment of the Congress of the Working People's Council as a supreme management forum of industrial, building and transport activity and of the National Council of the Working People as a permanent body meant to insure that all collective management bodies from economic units to ministries work in a unitary manner, provides as adequate organizational and juridical framework to the assertion of the principle of collective work and leadership, to further improve socialist democracy and translate into life the workers' self-management.

## ROMANIA

### TWO VERSIONS OF PENSION LAW PUBLISHED IN OFFICIAL ORGAN

[Editorial Report] BULETINUL OFICIAL, the Bucharest organ of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, published two versions of the Law on State Social Insurance, Pensions and Social Assistance. The first version appeared in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 61 of 8 July 1977 and the second, in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 82, of 6 August 1977. The second version was translated in JPRS 700072, No 1467 of this series, 1 November 1977, pages 56-76.

Both versions are labelled "Law No. 3 of 30 June 1977," state that "this law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly at its session of 30 June 1977" and are signed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly. They carry the authorization by Nicolae Caeusescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the publication of the law in BULETINUL OFICIAL.

Also, two versions of BULETINUL OFICIAL. Part 1. No 61, of 8 July 1977 were published. The first contained 18 pages, printing the first version of the pension law, the law on pensions and other social insurance rights for members of agricultural cooperatives, and the law on pensions and other social insurance rights for peasants with individual farms in non-cooperative zones. The other version of this issue of BULETINUL OFICIAL had 8 pages and reprinted word-for-word the laws on pensions for cooperative members and peasants with individual farms.

A comparison of the first and second versions of pension law No. 3 reveals the following differences: In the first version, Article 6, point 2 reads: "(2) The sums realized from these activities in combination with the pension may not exceed the pensioner's remuneration as of the date of pensioning."

Article 12 reads: Persons with a total length of service greater than 30 years, if men, and 25 years, if women, receive, for each additional year, an increase in pension of 0.5 percent of the base pay used to calculate the pension."

In the first version, points 3 and 4 of Article 14 are omitted.

Article 25, points 4 and 5 read as follows: "(4) The pension for each year of service beyond full seniority is increased by 0.5 percent of the base re-

muneration used for computing the pension; 5) The pension for third degree disability together with the remuneration received for the work performed may not exceed 70 percent of the remuneration received when the degree of disability was determined."

Article 29, point 2 reads: "Workers and experts specified in paragraph I, included in labor groups I and II, who have a seniority of at least 10 years in these groups will be employed in jobs paying them at least 70 percent of the remuneration in effect for the position held previously. For over 15 years seniority, the figure is 75 percent. If it is not possible to provide this remuneration, the difference up to 70 percent or 75 percent is made up out of the social insurance funds being included in the base remuneration."

Article 36, points 3 and 6, read as follows in the first version: "3) For each year of service beyond full seniority, a pension increase of 0.5 percent of the base remuneration on which the pension is computed is granted; 6) The pension for third degree disability together with the remuneration received for the work performed may not exceed 70 percent of the remuneration received as of the date of determining the degree of disability."

Article 88, point 2 reads: "2) Persons who, as a result of medical review, are to be re-employed, maintain their right to a pension until they are hired, but no more than 6 months."

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DIFFICULT WORK OF PETROLEUM WORKERS CITED AT ASSEMBLY SESSION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part II No 4, 2 Jul 77 pp 3,4

[Speech by Deputy Anghel-Valentin Popescu at the Fifth Session of the Seventh Legislature of the Grand National Assembly, 30 June 1977]

[Excerpts] I believe, comrades, that the pension system which will be improved by the adoption of the draft law which we are discussing today will be one of the important elements of the general system of material incentives, a stimulating factor in the production of material and intellectual goods for our society, assuring workers the prospects of obtaining, upon retirement, adequate incomes in accordance with the contribution made to the development and flourishing of the country.

Continuing, please permit me to say a few words about the provisions of the law which refer to the incentives given for long activity in a trade. A large number of workers engaged in the drilling and extraction of crude oil, among whom I carry out my activity, are in Group II, since their work is difficult, full of risks and they work outdoors in all types of weather, regardless of atmospheric conditions. The draft law gives this category of workers the right to pension, at their request, at the age of 57 and, at the same time, the right to continue their activity for another three years, also at their request. Also, the draft law gives them the right to take other easier jobs after they reach the retirement age.

This provision in the draft law meets a known need for manpower in the petroleum industry during current conditions of the development of society.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF 'ERA SOCIALISTA' NO 21/1977

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 77 p 5 AU

[Text] In view of the forthcoming national party conference and the elections of deputies to the People's Councils, the magazine publishes the articles: "Dynamism and Creative and Revolutionary Spirit in the Socioeconomic Activity"; "Increasing the Role of People's Councils in the Life of All Towns"; "Quality and Efficiency in Conditions of Technological Progress"; "Energetics--A Dynamic Factor of the National Economic Development"; "Workers Self-Administration and Economic Efficiency." The following articles are then printed: "The New and Revolutionary Concept of the Legal Practice and Education Through Works" and "The Struggle Against the Expansion of Deserts--a World Problem." The 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is marked by the articles: "USSR Along the Road of Socioeconomic Progress and of the Development of the New Society" and "The Development of Economic and Scientific-Technical Relations Between Romania and the Soviet Union." The magazine also includes: "Socialist Democracy in the current stage" (consultations); "The Mass Cultural-Artistic Movement at the Second Hymn to Romania National Festival" (literary-artistic creation); "The Armaments Race and Resources" (international life); "Confrontations and Contradictions in the Western Teaching System" (trends and ideas); and the "Books and Meanings" column.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN MINISTRY OF MINES, PETROLEUM, GEOLOGY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 110, 21 Oct 77 p 6

[Presidential Decree on Appointment and Removal of Officials in Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology]

[Text] The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Comrade Ioan Mineu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology and director general of the Jiu Valley Mining Combine.

Article 2--Comrade Dumitru Condrache is appointed deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology.

Article 3--Comrade Gheorghe Pacoste is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology and director general of the Autonomous General Directorate of Petroleum and Gas.

Article 4--Comrade Vasile Ardeleanu is appointed deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology and director general of the Autonomous General Directorate of Petroleum and Gas.

Article 5--Comrade Dan Radulescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology.

Article 6--Comrade Gheorghe Fulea is appointed deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology.

Article 7--Comrade Nicolae Rosca is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology.

Article 8--Comrade Ion Antonica is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology.

Nicolae Ceauseacu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of  
Romania

Bucharest, 21 October 1977

No 267

CSO: 2700



ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DOCUMENT ON ARMS RACE--A Romanian draft resolution on the socioeconomic consequences of the armaments race, coauthored by 19 other states, was presented in the UN General Assembly Committee for Political and Security Matters. Presenting the draft resolution, the Romanian delegate said that the new document expresses concern with the continued stockpiling of armaments, in spite of repeated UN General Assembly requests for effective measures to end the armaments race. In consuming huge material and human resources, the armaments race poses a serious danger to peace and security and is incompatible with efforts to establish a new world economic order. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 12 Nov 77 AU]

CSO: 2700

END